

Aotearoa Youth Network



Number 5, October 1993

The rally at 1 pm went off much better than we had expected, with good speeches and happy students. By 10 to 2, a crowd of 1000 had formed and marched off to the Registry building in good spirits. Marshals were easily able to split the crowd into half, and then each group in half again, in order to cover several doors to the building, and so as to make as much noise as possible. By 5 to 2, lots of chanting was going on, and the Council knew we were there!

REGISTRY MAIN DOOR

Between 2 and 2.30, the group at the main steps tried to enter the door, and the Police quickly retreated inside, after punching and kicking students. During this time some windows were broken by students angry at the violence from the Police. By 2.30 this door was quiet, although there were some later attempts to get the door open. A sound system played dance music, and students began dancing, chalking messages to the Council on the ground, playing hacky-sack and relaxing.

STUDENT HEALTH DOOR

Just after arriving, this group began chanting loudly, because it was known that noise from this side could be clearly heard in the Council room. At about 2.15, Students managed to open the door here, breaking it at the same time. The door stayed open for the rest of the protest, and remained the main tension point until after 4 pm. Students occupied the ramp up to the door, and there was heavy Police presence throughout. Security Guards inside the building were replaced by Police in riot gear. Students were in a good, but determined mood, and when fire hoses were turned on them at 10 to 3, they responded with water bottles, drenching Police! On several occasions between 2.15 and 3, Police tried to push students directly out of the door, into the railing over the landing at the top of the ramp. Every time they failed. Some



complaints have been laid against Police over these incidents. 3 students were pulled into the building and arrested, with at least one having his head stood on by Police. One Student was actually trying to help a security guard who had fainted!

Around 3 pm, a group of 6 to 8 Police moved into the area below the door, and had several struggles with students there. Other Police were dotted throughout the area, protecting other doors.

ALLOWANCES DOOR

At 2, Students surged up the steps to this door and made several attempts to open it. A high-spirited and determined stayed on the steps throughout the protest. At about 2.40 10 Police charged up the steps, throwing Students aside, pulling peoples hair and punching. Complaints have been laid about this. After getting to the door, the Police stayed for a while, and then left!

NEGOTIATIONS, LIAISON, CROWD CONTROL

By 3 pm, riot gear had been seen inside the Student Health door. AS marshals, we decided that we were not willing to risk putting students against riot police, and began looking for ways to calm

Network News

Articles: AYN provides an opportunity for you to hear about the issues that you are interested in - by writing about them! Please send us news of what is happening where you are, articles, letters and thoughts. AYN is about everyone, so get involved!

The mailing list: If you know anyone who would be interested in getting the AYN magazine, please put them on to us. Remember that we are having to charge subs (\$9 unwaged).

Hot Frogs: The Victoria Environment Group (VEG) decided that Hot Frogs, the Student Environment Action Network mag., should not be in AYN. What input if any other SEAN groups had in this decision we don't know, but as of writing, Hot Frogs is staying separate of AYN.

AYN Posters? Some of you may have seen Anti-National posters produced by "AYN". This is not the case, they were produced by the Aotearoa Youth Movement. Call it a break down in communication, or printer's error, or whatever. We apologise for any unease, confusion, etc., and trust it won't happen again.

Communist Party of NZ: The CPNZ has managed to get hold of a partial list of AYN people. They did not ask us for this. If you received CPNZ material, and don't wish to keep getting it, write to them and ask them to remove your name from their list. More apologies, we will be asking them how they got hold of the list, and for a bit more courtesy next time!!

The AYN Newsletter is the publication of the Aotearoa Youth Network. The articles and opinions expressed in the newsletter are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent the views of any other member of the Network, or of the collective that produces the Newsletter, or of any other associated group.



4 PM ONWARDS.

At 4.05, Grant Robertson, the OUSA President, came out a door from the Council meeting. He told students that the meeting had ended some time ago. He told the 200+ people what had been achieved, what was still to be done, and concluded by saying that we should head back to the Union lawn. He then went to the other side of the building to give the same speech to Students on that side. Many students did head away, but around 300 stayed to see what would happen to those arrested. As well as the 3 pulled inside, 4 others who had entered a window at 2 pm had also been arrested.

this door down. We wanted to get students to pull back and sit down, but Police standing on the ramp up to the door prevented this. We also recognised that 1 of the main reasons for the anger at this door was because students had been in direct confrontation with police - they had been (allegedly) punched, kicked and elbowed. They had witnessed 3 of their friends being pulled inside. We felt that as no major offences had been committed by those inside, the Police may consider releasing them without charge if we could end the protest.

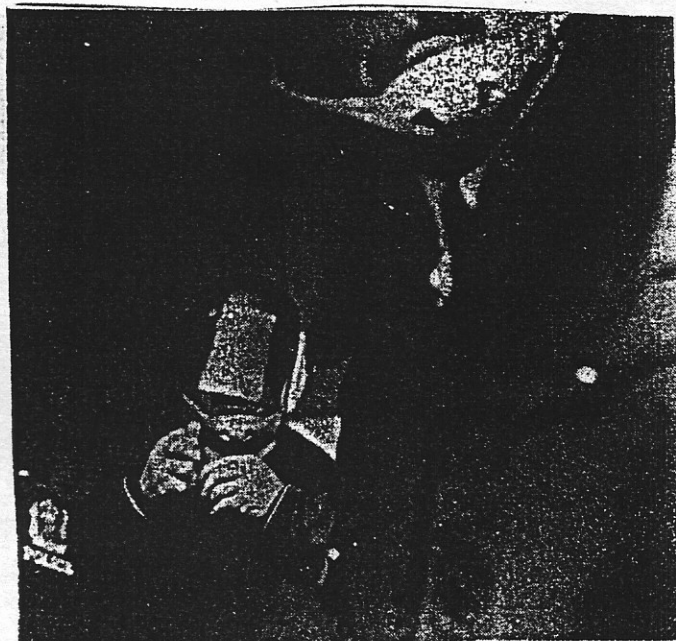
At 3, we heard that Superintendent Hill had entered the building, and that sackloads of batons had been brought in. 3 marshals managed to get inside to negotiate with Sergeant Campbell, the officer in charge, and the university Proctor. Hill did not join in the negotiations. The Police refused to negotiate, but gave an undertaking to pull the Police back from the Student Health ramp if we did the same with students. The officers on the ramp were a major reason for the tension there. With the officers there, Students could not move back at all. In spite of the agreement with the Police, these officers continued to refuse to move, causing more anger and frustration. When they finally did move, around 3.40, the situation quickly calmed down. Students moved back, and sat down on the ramp. At that time, a loud mix of cheers and boos burst out when 5 Police officers left the building, took riot helmets and batons from their cars, and re-entered the building. At this time, all

door were calm, and the protest was beginning to end.

Between 3.45 and 4.10 at least 4 Council members left the Registry via side doors. They were seen by Students and Marshals but not challenged, although the door they had left from was blocked after this. What this shows is that people were not interested in conflict, but were determined to make their point about fees, and that they were more concerned with those who had been arrested. Some marshals told Police to get the Council members to leave by side doors, and that they would not be worried.

At 4.15, reports were heard that the Police were going to bring the Students out from the main entrance. About 25 ran around, and then ran back when others said that they were coming out of the Students Health door! Nothing seemed to be happening, so a guitarist began to play Bob Dylan covers. One student was heard suggesting that the Police were trying to avoid the hippie songs.

A white van then began to drive around towards the main entrance. At first people thought this was a service van. Then the driver was recognised as a Plain Clothes officer who had been videoing protesters



form inside the building. The time was around 4.20.

There were 25 - 50 students sitting on the Main Entrance steps, mostly first years. Their backs were to the door. About 50 were lying in the sun, listening to the music or just watching. As the van drove around, students moved aside for it. Those on the steps stayed sitting. When the driver was recognised, a cry went out that he was an officer. At almost exactly the same time, the Registry door was thrown open.

3 officers in body armour and helmets and carrying long batons leapt into those on the steps, jumping and clubbing downwards as they came out. There are numerous first hand accounts of what happened afterwards. We would like to emphasise that there was NO WARNING! The students had not moved against the door for over an hour and a half. Most students there were there for the sun, and because it was the calmest place. They were not attempting to enter the building, nor stop people leaving.

3 to 7 riot police charged out of the door to the van. In their way were about 25 young students who were seated and had their backs turned. These students have all alleged that they were kicked, punched and batoned in the head, back, arms and legs, and that they were stomped on. Some were thrown down the stairs (including 1 woman with her leg in plaster)

and at least 1 was knocked unconscious.

2 lines of Police with long and short

batons then went down either side of the steps to form a Tunnel for those going to the van. The students seemed to have thought that those being brought out were the arrested Students, not the Council members. In shock, Students sat down

around the van and linked arms, to prevent it from taking the "students" away. These students were repeatedly batoned, in spite of not being able to move away, as Police were standing right over them.

A Police line was established around the van, and as it reversed away, people were batoned, kicked, stomped on and worse. One student was run over by the van. As

the van was finally escorted to the exit, more and more were injured. When one student later went to ask why he had been hit, he was struck again - when the van had gone and when he was not blocking anyone. Another student who asked the same question was hit and then thrown down the Registry steps.

We feel that Students remained non-violent throughout the protest. What happened has deeply shocked all of those there, and many



others. That almost 1 million people saw the violence that night on the news does not please us, but at least people have an idea what happened that day, even if the media turn a 3 + hour peaceful protest into a 10 minute "riot". We feel that many of the Police actually enjoyed what they were doing. At least one was heard making references to previous student-police conflicts. Where they after a perverted "revenge"? Throughout the day, organisers of the Protest tried to communicate with Police. This proved extremely difficult. What degree of control the commanding officers had over their "troops" when they batoned the backs of 18 and 19 year olds sitting down is something too terrible to contemplate. The Police have admitted on National TV that they wanted to surprise us. What else did they want to do?

Whatever your personal feelings about this protest, you must not turn this into a Police versus Students event. That is what they want us to do. Not 1 Student went to the Registry expecting to take on the Police. We went thier to show the University Council how strongly we felt about our education, and how strongly we felt about the fee increase they were proposing. That is the issue. Please try not only to remember a booted Policeman with no ID number clubbing a 19 year old women while she lat on the ground, as a boy who was 2 years behind you at school is passed over your head by students because he is unconscious.

Mark
and
Joss.

Since the day:

In the days that followed the 28th, the Free Education Campaign received extensive media coverage. Surprisingly, largely the media steered way from the Police vs. Students aspect and took up the issues.

Otago University has backed down on a number of points that the Student's Association had been fighting for for some time. Rumour has it that there will never be another fee increase. Lockwood has been forced into finding another \$5 million for the Universities, who have come out in Public against him.

In the face of Students Protest, Massey University cut a fee rise from 30% to 22%. At Canterbury University, 1500 Students took over thier Registry Building during a Council Meeting, forcing Security Guards aside. At Lincoln, 500 Students protesting the building of a new Council Meeting Room (costing about the same as thier projected fee rise!) broke down a door, again pushing aside security, to take their concerns to the Council. After they had occupied the room for an hour, the Council agreed to negotiate the issue.

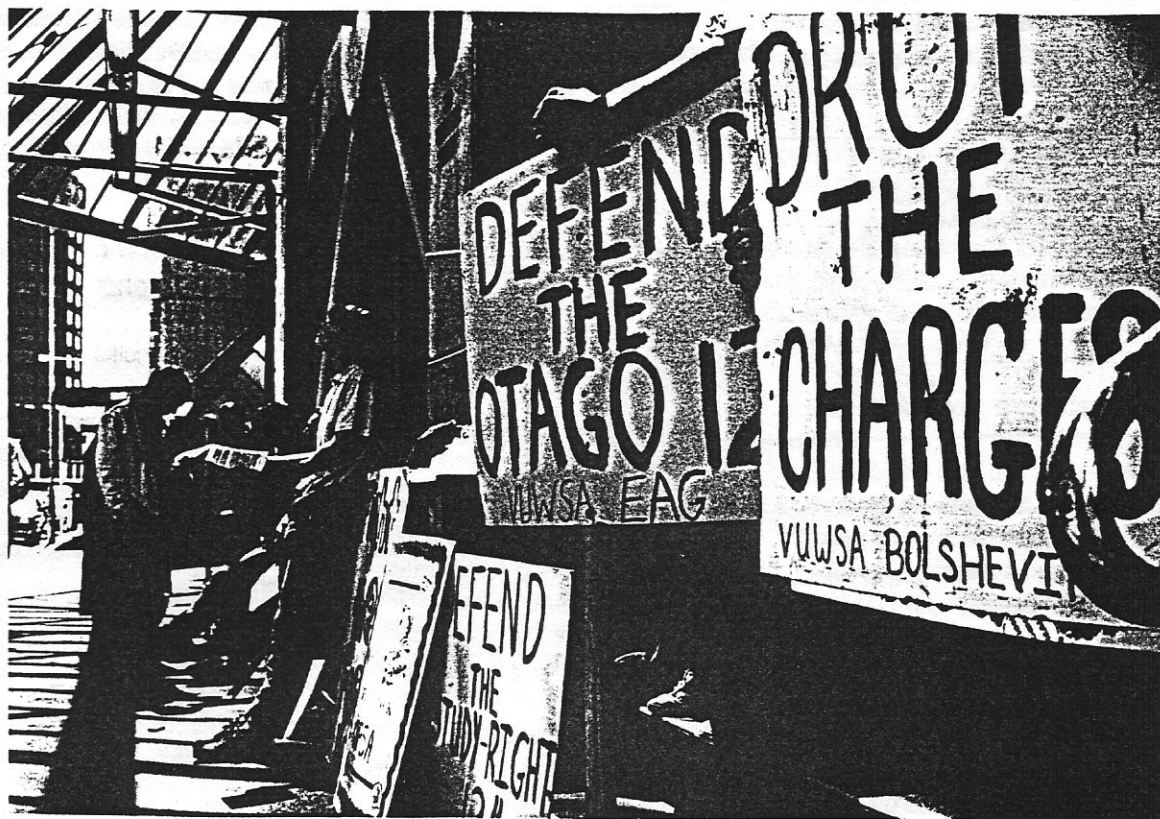
Solidarity protest for Otago Education Activists

On Friday the 15th about 25 protesters demonstrated in support of those arrested in Dunedin's 'police riot'. The protesters assembled outside Wellington Central Police Station to show their anger at the unnecessary Police violence inflicted on what was clearly a peaceful protest. The protesters demanded that all those arrested have the charges against them dropped immediately.

Letters containing these demands and explaining the purpose of the protest were signed by those present and sent to the Wellington Police and the Otago Daily Times.

The protest was organised and supported by the VUWSA Bolshevik Club, Anarchists, Aotearoa Youth Movement, Peace Movement Aotearoa and the Permanent Revolution Group.

Marinus La Rooij.



The Necessity for Biculturalism in Aotearoa

Maaori culture will never disappear. Even if one day we are all light brown and the classical language and oral literature are largely lost (an unlikely and terrible thought, but still a possibility), the particularly Maaori ways of thinking, looking at life and relating to others, will live on in sub-groups as it does today, based on Marae and possibly gangs, ghettos and prisons. At the very least some Maaori slang and a great number of other words and concepts will have permeated the mainstream, a process that has been recently accelerating.

It's relevant to consider the experience of Afro-Americans, who lack the foci of Marae, language and ancestral links to the environment, but never the less retain their own unique differentness and culture. They are resistant to assimilation, and despite the Civil Rights Legislation of the sixties, remain largely at the bottom of the heap.

Biculturalism has an essential contribution to make to the avoidance in our country of a disaster on the scale of Bosnia, where the differences between racial groups have been suppressed, while the fear, ignorance

are profound and manifold. Of course the differences vary, and have been reduced by intermarriage, but are re-inforced by the environment, as stated above, they are here to stay.

Some classic examples are:

- Maori prefer to learn orally, whereas Paakehaa prefer to learn visually, from a blackboard or book.
- Maori attitudes to initiative, leadership, group membership and respect between age-groups and sexes is quite different.
- Maori methods of expressing a pint or opinion are different and can lead to difficulties in communication.

Perhaps if the Government had gone the whole hog and burnt marae, continued the ban on the language, suppressed Maaori organisations and continued the old pepper-potting principle of urbanisation, the recurring claim that "We are all one people" would have had some meaning. Even those drastic steps would not have worked. The browner proletariat would still have gravitated to the bottom of the socio-economic heap, with their own culture, even if it wasn't recognisable as Maaori. This would have eventually led to a pressure for justice such as is occurring in Northern Ireland, where the Roman Catholics have been similarly marginalised.

This hypothetical situation is not too far from where we are today. Biculturalism

where they belong, rather than in a tape archive, to be studied by dry experts. It's doing this by raising the status and exposure of the language, and creating a career path for the fluent speakers.

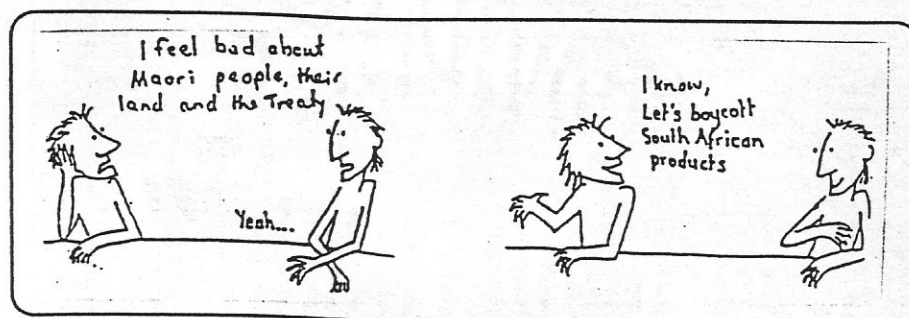
This country strongly supports the preservation of threatened animal species, the banning of Nuclear Weapons, freedom for Black Africans, and the peace-keeping activities of the UN, but when it comes to the potential benefits of Biculturalism we have a blind spot. The largest factor is probably fear, of having to give some privilege and resources away, and of confronting the past, with it's unpleasant implications of guilt. Mixed up in this of course are the racist beliefs of superiority, fostered by our education system, media, and the sad condition many Maaori are in today.

Another factor in this tricky equation is the attitude of Paakehaa to their own culture. Despite the growing confidence of Kiwi literature, music and drama, we still look to the UK and the US for our models of excellence. The modes of culture which most strongly express our national identity, Rugby, Netball and League are already strongly penetrated by Maaori and Pacific Islanders. Combined with the fact that Paakehaa culture has become something to be looked at rather than participated in, Paakehaa may resist accepting the validity of Maaori culture as a parallel expression of this country's identity. This, perhaps, is because they are not confident of their place in Paakehaa culture and feel that Maaori energy will expose this weakness.

What does Biculturalism mean for Paakehaa?

Paakehaa culture is all pervasive and powerful in Aotearoa. Moves towards biculturalism start with the recognition of this fact and involve discovery and affirmation of the many positive values of Paakehaa culture, as well as the acknowledgment that some of these values have a downside.

Also needed is an introduction to Maaori culture as it was before the arrival of Europeans. Early Maaori were remarkably resourceful adaptors and navigators with complex myth, art and social systems and a rich oral tradition and ability to retain whakapapa and stories. The



and hatred remain. It's imperative that the message gets out that Biculturalism is not a cause of, but part of the solution to the pressures that are pushing us in that direction.

Contrary to the assertions of Craig Bauld, the principal of Waihoku College near Gisborne, who claimed on the National Program that he saw all his students as being the same, regardless of race, the differences between Maaori and Paakehaa

has started to reduce the marginalisation and increase understanding and respect but there is a long way to go. Obviously, genuine political reform, for which biculturalism prepares the ground, is needed to head off a long term disaster.

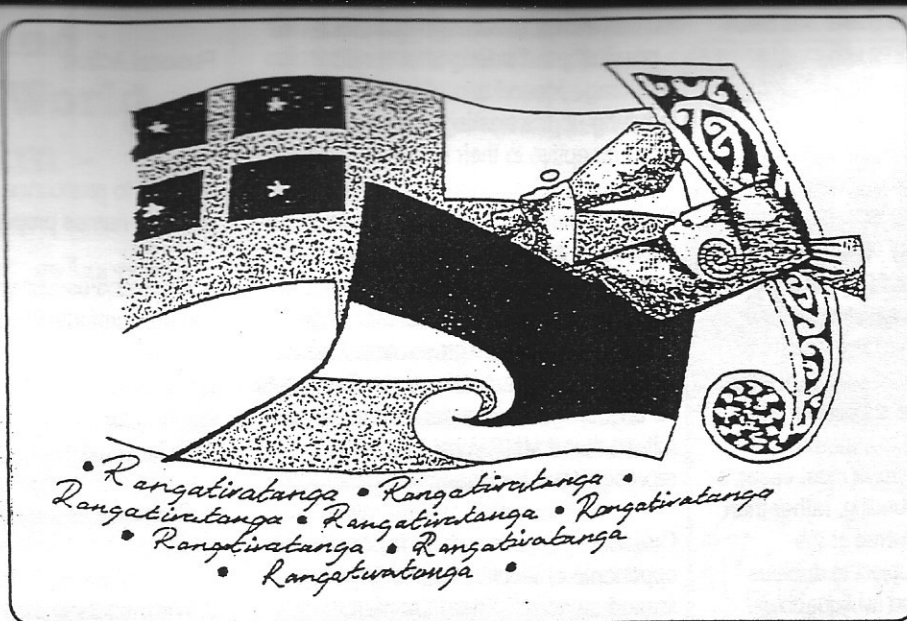
Biculturalism not only reduces marginalisation of Maaori in Aotearoa, but also benefits the world as a whole, by fostering and assisting the preservation of the traditional Maaori language and oral literature, as living treasures in the country

Next comes the story of the arrival of the Sealers, Whalers and Traders, the Treaty and the boom of the Maori economy, followed by the Land Wars, manipulation and oppression. This sad tale is not taught in our schools. Suffice it to say that the link between the current state of Maaori health, crime, economic and education stat's and the process of colonisation should be obvious.

The education so far described, particularly relating to the treaty of Waitangi, should bring Paakehaa to the point where they are happy to accept the basic principles of biculturalism:

- Maaori are different - In other words, Mana Maaori Motuhake, a distinct and vital Maaori identity, power and pride, is an inescapable reality).
- As Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa they deserve special status and respect. This is why Biculturalism, dealing fairly with Maaori, must be given priority over Multiculturalism, which involves the many minority cultures in Aotearoa. Maaori are not merely another minority culture in thier own country.
- The Treaty guaranteed continuance of their existing right to Tino Rangatiratanga, in other words control over thier own resources and affairs. It also guaranteed them fair and decent treatment by institutions which they didn't control.

Having accepted these principles, Paakehaa are ready for action. Unfortunately most get frozen at this point, either unsure of what to do, self-conscious, or frightened of being accused of being a "wet liberal";, trying to be politically correct. They continue their lives with all the advantages that being Paakehaa bestow, have good feelings about thier understanding and empathy for Maaori, but by failing to act continue to contribute to the problem.



One way of overcoming this is to take personal action in the area of language. Learning to pronounce properly place names, personal names and greetings is a powerful statement. This simple step makes you vulnerable to accusations of tokenism, which enforce an examination of your commitment to the above principles, which can only be a good thing. Taken a little further, language lessons may involve a mixed group and insights into Maaori styles of teaching and attitudes to time. Knowledge of basic greetings can make it easier to approach and then relate to Maaori if you are confident, but it has to be handle sensitively and with humility. The language is theirs not yours.

Having mastered the many uses of "Kia Ora", the next step is to investigate and support the efforts of your local school in this area, so that you can at least keep up with and reinforce your children. A shortage of bilingual teachers is a problem, but the disinterest of Trustees and Parents is the biggest obstacle. A campaign must be mounted to ensure that our young are bilingual in the major languages of the country. Internationally this is taken for granted. Much more important is Paakehaa support for Maori initiatives to improve the teaching of the language and culture to Maaori in the mainstream system. The existence of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maaori allows the mainstream to continue to ignore the need to also provide these services.

There are many other actions that Paakehaa can take. Some, like getting involved directly alongside Maaori, have to handled very sensitively. Others, like

lobbying for improvements, can be done without the need for Maaori input, as long as you have a good understanding of the issues. One very necessary action is learning to give. The number of Maaori initiatives which could benefit from Paakehaa cash is enormous, and

despite media claims, this is not pouring money down a black hole. You won't get any immediate thanks, but sooner or later the wheel will turn and your koha will return with interest, probably in a completely unexpected way.

A Paakehaa view of what Biculturalism means for Maaori.

Maori are already bicultural, as a matter of survival. Until recently, expressions of their Taha Maaori have been restricted to the rural back-blocks, Marae, pubs, prisons, freezing works and suburbs like Otara and Porirua. To be accepted into the mainstream Maaori needed a well developed Taha Paakehaa and an ability to suppress thier Maaoriness. As a result of this stressful situation, the last generation of Maaori speaking parents avoided passing on the language to thier children and encouraged them to seek the education and thinking of the Paakehaa. They thereby unwittingly fulfilled one sad third of Sir Apirana's exhortation:

*"Grow up tender shoot, for the days of your world.
Your hand on the tools of the Paakehaa as sustenance for your body.
Your heart given to Maaoritanga, as a plume for your head.
Your spirit to God, who created all things."*

Biculturalism has radically changed all this. The development of Maaori units in Govt. Departments, local bodies and many other places has opened up job opportunities and provided an environment where their Maaoriness is affirmed rather than suppressed. There has been a

lot of tokenism, but some power has been devolved, and even a token unit means cash is recycling into the Maaori economy.

The large number of jobs generated by the growth of the "Biculturalism Industry" is probably going to be a much bigger factor in the economic recovery of Maaori than deals like Sealords. Major parts of this industry are Maaori Education and the Maaori media which have developed through years of dedicated voluntary work by Maaori with very little support of Pakehaa, let alone the Government. Funding for this industry is in most cases a portion of mainstream funding, rather than compensation. It is delivered at the grassroots and is not subject to dubious trickle down theories and lwi squabbles. Hopefully the growth in this area will continue.

For Maaori, then, Biculturalism will at least bring recognition as Tangata Whenua, an increase in self-esteem, increased job prospects and a decrease in negative statistics.

What does the Future Hold?

Probably the thing most likely to worry Paakehaa about biculturalism is that they know it's only the beginning, a precursor of something they find very threatening.

Genuine Political change and Power Sharing is an imperative of the Tanagata Whenua principle and the Treaty which are central to biculturalism. There are major obstacles to the radical political reform that's necessary, including:

- The prevailing view that our one-person, one vote democracy is sacrosanct and unassailable.

- The history of National Maori groups like the Congress, who seem unable to transcend lwi and Hapuu animosities.

- The cynical exploitation of cronyism and tokenism that the Government indulges in, diverting attention from the fact that grassroots Maaori are not represented.

- The fact that the Maaori who have bothered to register are split between the General and Maaori rolls and are not very interested in actually voting.

It could be that these problems are so intractable that it's too early to consider

radical reform, but acceptance that it was a possibility in the long-term would encourage Maaori to participate more fully in tuning up the existing system to be more receptive to their needs.

Now that Maaori have overwhelmingly expressed their desire to retain the separate roll and seats if MMP comes in, the Government should finance a major campaign to activate grass-roots Maaori interest in the Electoral system. They must be encouraged to register on the Maaori roll, so that if MMP comes in representation for Maaori will increase.

One thorny question which frustrates the opponents of Biculturalism is "Who is a Maaori anyway?". There are many definitions, and this should be explored in detail. My suggestions are:

- For the purpose of dividing up land, jobs, and Tanagata Whenua status, a Maaori is any person with Maaori ancestry, however remote.

- For the purpose of voting, a Maaori is any person who identifies as Maaori.

One final thought. Despite our love of 1 person 1 vote democracy, we have no difficulty accepting the Queen and Governor-General as Heads of State, with all the Mana that that involves. Is it such a difficult leap of imagination to envisage a day when they are replaced by a group of Kaumatua, men and women appointed by lwi, with similar Mana? (And a bit of the real power implied by that word!)

Noo reira, e hoa maa, kua maatakitaki ki teenei tuhituhi ki eenei whakaaro hohnu, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou katoa.

John Tovey.

Some suggested personal actions to support biculturalism

These suggestions are based on the assumption that the reader already accepts that restoration of the concepts of Mana Maori Motuhake and Tino Rangatiratanga are central to the well-being of the country, even though the long term conclusion of this process is yet to be defined.

Personal Action:

1. Te Reo

- a. Learn to pronounce place names and personal names properly.

- b. Learn and use simple greetings until you are comfortable with them.

- c. Get hold of a Dictionary. (Ryan), and extend your knowledge as much as you have time and energy for.

2. Challenge anyone who makes racist jokes.

3. Write letters to the media opposing racists.

4. Find out all you can about the current local and national Maori scene.

5. Read up on local and national Maori history. Learn the names of all the Tangata Whenua lwi of the region, their leading families and important figures, and any claims or grievances that they are involved in.

6. Push the idea of biculturalism in all the organisations that you are involved in.

7. Give all you can spare, without expecting a thank you. Maori have heaps to teach us about giving, which I hope you will one day discover for yourself.

Suggested Reading about the background to Maori Aspirations

1. "Ask that Mountain" by Dick Scott.

2. "Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End" by Ranganui Walker.

3. "The Treaty of Waitangi" by Claudia Orange.

4. "The Story of the Treaty" by Claudia Orange.

5. "Beyond Guilt: a handbook on racism" Radio N.Z. from Box 2092 Wellington.

6. "Common Questions and a response" by Mitzi Naim from Program on Racism - PO Box 9573 Auckland.

7. "The New Zealand Wars" by James Belich.

8. For a more Radical view sign up to Treaty Times produced occasionally by A.F.I.A. Box 1905 Christchurch.

"First" and "Third" World Feminsim - possible meeting places.

Why not develop a certain rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced? Then you begin to investigate what it is that silences you. From this position, then, I say you will of course not speak in the same way about the Third World material, but if you make it your task not only to learn what is going on there through language, through specific programs of study, but also at the same time through a historical critique of your position as the investigating person, then you will see that you have earned the right to criticise, and you will be heard (G. Spivak "Questions of Multi-Culturalism, in S. Harasym (ed) The Post-Colonial Critic).

A friend of mine once said to me that everyone is racist and that cultural barriers to communication are insurmountable. She said that any cross-cultural interaction was destructive since it was fraught with misunderstanding. My reply to her was that surely we should at least try to create a space within which to interact. The debate is, as yet, unresolved. She brings up the obstacles and I suggest strategies for beginning to deal with them.

I am perplexed to note that the recognition of "differences" by the "left" has resulted in inactivity around many of the relevant issues rather than the forging of new alliances. Does this paralysis result from a fear of being "politically correct"? The label racist is impossible to refute and silences

any debate. But perhaps setting up a dialogue around the issues of racism, colonialism and feminism is worth taking a risk. What better way to prevent them from being marginalised?

In looking at how theory is (or isn't) related to practice it seems that "differences" become conflated into "difference", the reduction of many into "us" and "them". In meetings, for example, there is the recognition of the "anglos" and the "non-anglos". If this difference is noted there is an implicit expectation that the "anglos" should be silent, should respect what is being said by the "others". This equation doesn't add up. Being silent isn't a sign of respect. Being silent may be an attempt to invert the race and ethnic hierarchies. But simply inverting hierarchies doesn't subvert them.

How do we undermine these power relations? How do we work with women from different race and ethnic backgrounds? Criticisms of generalising and/or universalising feminist theories from women of colour have provided essential insights, but have paradoxically resulted in a silence on difference from anglo-feminists. Caught between tokenism and absence anglo-feminists who recognise differences seem unable to move out of their anglocentric discourse. Consciences can be readily salved by bringing in the token speaker (on race, ethnicity, culture, the "third world"... it doesn't matter). The speaker then becomes the representative of a particular group and her reductive account becomes the only account. While it is important that women from marginalised groups speak for the purposes of political mobilisation, it is vital to ask who should be speaking, who is listening and how she is listened to.

Those who listen also have

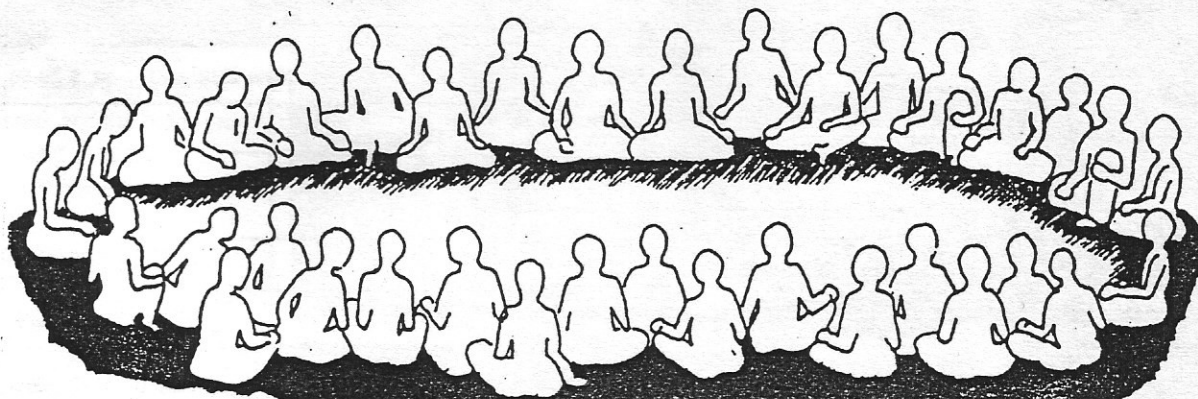
LET'S GET ORGANISED



responsibilities, it is important to listen critically.

From a theoretical perspective the acknowledgment of white, colonial attitudes and power as well as the difficulties of different language barriers, political agendas and cultural practices and assumptions seems to say that I can never engage a "Third World" woman in a debate. That I cannot speak without silencing her and she cannot speak because she is silenced. OK I accept this, the West has a lot of economic, political and ideological power. But in out practice we should struggle to talk with each other, we should struggle to find points of commonality, recognising that the specifics of how an issue is dealt with in a particular area, country, community, group, etc. should be analysed and ultimately determined by the members of that group.

How do we work together? How feminists work, what they say and do, affects



ignoring others because of their need to organise autonomously is simply a cop out. The recognition of one's own privileged position shouldn't be assuaged by silence. We need to explore ways of sharing ideas, exchanging information and debating issues in a reciprocal manner, ways of forging alliances and of breaking down hierarchies.

Creating the possibilities for open dialogue between women from different racial and ethnic backgrounds benefits all parties. While it doesn't necessarily provide a platform from which to work together or an issue around which to generalise it can highlight the gaps, contradictions or limitations of a feminist theory and / or practice. There are so many different definitions, priorities, analyses and ways of working, these differences can be exposed by talking to others.

Last year I went to the Philippines to exchange information and to build links with activists. During my stay I went to meet with a women's group that organises in an urban squat. The women's group organised childcare and revenue raising activities. In response to domestic violence they allocate safe houses, in the community (sometimes only a couple of metres away) to which women can go for one night. The communities are small (no more than about 100 people), the houses are small (a few square feet), the walls are thin, there are no secrets in such a community. Filipinos are predominantly Catholic; separation or divorce is frowned

upon. How do I go about thinking about this response to domestic violence? I can't, I don't understand the situation or the response, I can't think of any alternatives.

Another example of when my feminist knowledge failed me was when I spoke with a group that was organising around issues of physical and sexual abuse. This group was going out into the countryside, collecting data and educating different communities to name rape as unacceptable behaviour. I couldn't get my head around their method of organising. They would go into a barangay (village) and call a meeting with everyone. They would encourage women to speak about their rape experiences. The men are there? I asked incredulously. "Yes" was the reply, "they need their husbands to support them". What I know about this situation, in Australia, is that sexual violence is much less likely to come from strangers than from the men women live with or know. I wondered how women could feel comfortable about pointing the finger at someone who was there with them. I couldn't see how this program was going to work, how the women would feel empowered. The Philippines is a highly militarised country. Retrospectively I wonder whether the data was to be compiled on violence perpetrated by military personnel. If that was the aim, it could never be explicit without endangering the lives of everyone involved.

100 years of voting

and you want us to say thank you?!



for white male rule

Yes there are many times to be silent, many times when I simply don't understand, many times when I had to be careful, to reserve judgement, since I understand feminist work in a different context. But this is not reason enough for me to be silenced; Silenced as a First World feminist, silenced as a racist. Surely we share sensibilities, even if the circumstances are different, we seek women's freedom from violence, oppression and exploitation and much much more, There is enough to provide the basis for solidarity. How the connections between women are made cannot be outlined, they will need to be constantly and critically struggled for.

The next time my friend tells me cross-cultural dialogue is impossible, I will tell her that I am still trying.

S.W.

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Keeping you
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and views ...

Yesterday a very dear friend said that our society is based on violence. I agree with her. She made this observation after a police riot at a non-violent anti-fees protest at Otago University. She responded not only to state-sanctioned violence, but also to the media's distortion of it. But the scope of her insight is far wider. We live in a culture where physical force is often the final "word", where often violence, and only violence is deemed newsworthy, where the economic system is based on the competition of people beating people and where sexuality is often a battleground. Violence, in all these manifestations, is a way of avoiding a perception of oneself, and the words of another. It is a way to remove any source of debate, or opposing ideas. It is a way of dehumanising all.

Let me tell you a story. It refers to events that took place at the registry of Otago University on the 28th of September. I was one of a large group of protesters who linked arms and sat around a van containing members of our University Council. This non-violent action was made in an attempt to hold them there until they would talk to us. The police surged at us in riot gear, kicking, battering and dragging us away. Two minutes after this I approached one of the officers who had battered us.. I asked him why protesters sitting on the ground had been battered. He pushed me away and said fuck off. I asked him again. This time he struck me across the chest with his baton. To me this symbolised the entire day: those with a baton in their hand, and the police on their side do not have to respond to questions.

This is not, however, a violent incident in a society of peace. This is partly shown by the initial media response. The media transformed four hours of non-violent protest focused tightly around a political aim

into fifteen minutes of a violent scene between students and police. Their immediate, instinctive reaction was to pluck a violent episode out of its political context of words and ideas. The protest was never about violence, it was about making the empowered hear the disempowered. The media completely ignored the fact that the council never listened to our words, and that I have never once had a councillor come before me and defend their position. Why is it that the media consider something newsworthy only after the sensationalism of violence?

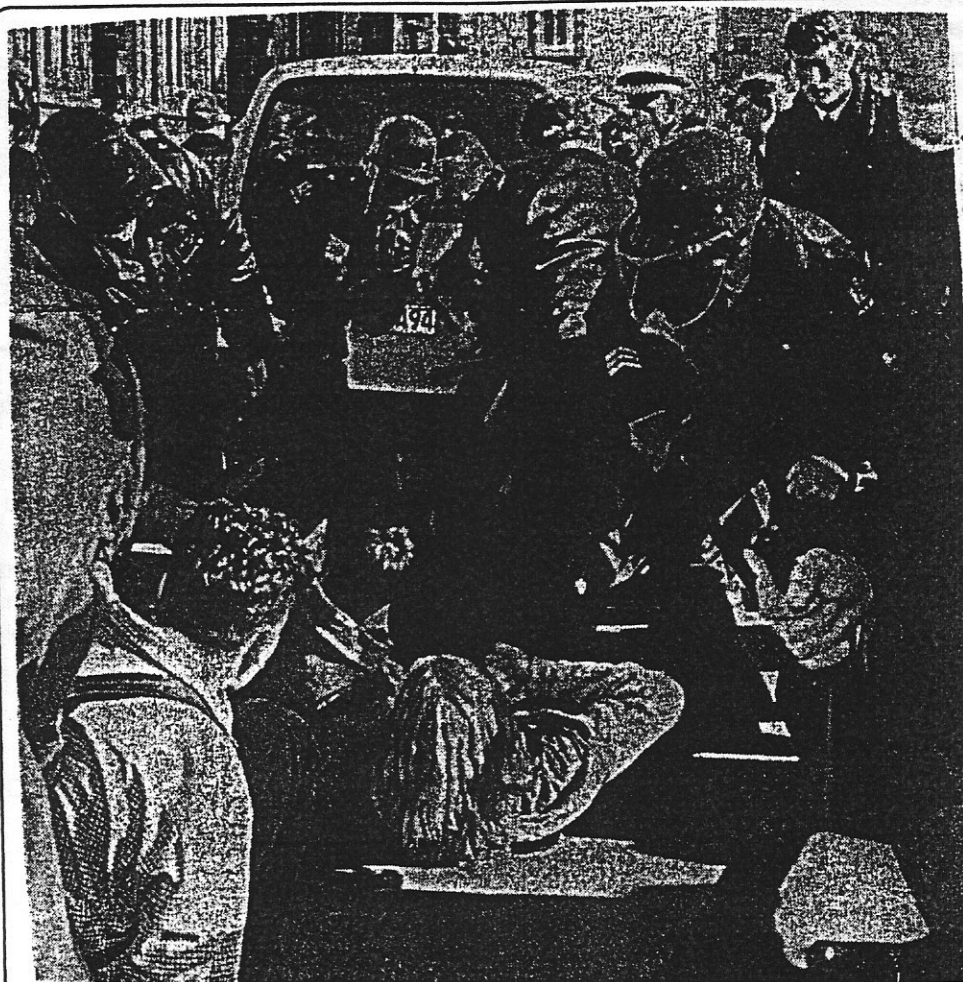
This is not, however, a violent sound-byte in a network of tranquillity. Our entire economic system is based on notions that competition is materially "thus" morally better. Friedrich Hayek, a leading ideologue of New Right economics, argues that 'through further competition, not through agreement, we gradually increase our efficiency' (Hayek, *The Fatal Conceit*, 1988, p. 9). Through one individual beating another to gain a contract, we gain a better product. Of the quality of the economic product I do not know. BUT of the quality of the social product I do. It is human beings radically alienated from each other and

themselves. Is the relation between the two meanings of 'to beat' really insignificant?

This is not, however, a violent phrase in a vocabulary of understanding. Why especially does our language of sexuality have so many violent double meanings? Why, for example, are such words as 'fuck', 'cunt' and 'dick', terms of abuse? Why is 'to screw' a synonym for 'to make love', when it implies an objectification, and immobilisation of one's partner? Why is 'to dick someone' exchangeable for 'to beat someone'? Violent language is pervasive and difficult to eradicate. What, for example, did we protesters mean when we chanted '1 2 3 4, we can't pay our fees no more, 2 4 6 8, students will retaliate'?

This is not, however, all beyond our control. We may not will the consequences but we will the causes. This violence infests our politics, our society, our culture and our sexuality. But these are a politics, a society, a culture of our own creation. It is our perspectives, ideas and actions which construct every single facet of these spheres. Do we have the courage to deconstruct them?

David Marshall



The Importance of Internationalism: Internationalists and "Foreign" Capital.

I was interested to read Louise's comments on the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) in the last AYN (no. 3) newsletter. The article raises a fundamental question, that of internationalism versus nationalism.

Essentially, CAFCA views the world as being divided, not between exploiter and exploited, but between "New Zealander": and "Foreign". This represents something very dangerous... Nationalism!

The speaker from the floor at the CAFCA meeting was right in saying that workers in Aotearoa have nothing in common with "our" capitalists; rather we have everything in common with workers around the world. But CAFCA's very name suggest that New Zealand Capitalists are somehow better than foreign capitalists. If, as Louise says "CAFCA does not support the replacement of foreign monopolies with local ones as their aims are the same - profits", we ask the question... why not then have a "Campaign Against Capitalist Control of the World". Why distinguish anti-capitalism with nationalism?

Louise suggests that foreign ownership of New Zealand assets is causing the smashing of unions, elitist education and divisions between rich and poor. But this emphasis on foreign capital lets New Zealand capital off the hook. Let what "our" capitalists are managing to do on their own. The Employment Contracts Act and the benefit cuts are a vicious attack on the working class. "Our" capitalists are

part of the profit orientated system which requires charging for education and health, increased rents for state housing and the cost of child care. Capitalism has created massive unemployment, cutting wages and conditions. Telecom alone laid off thousands before it was bought by American - NZ interests.

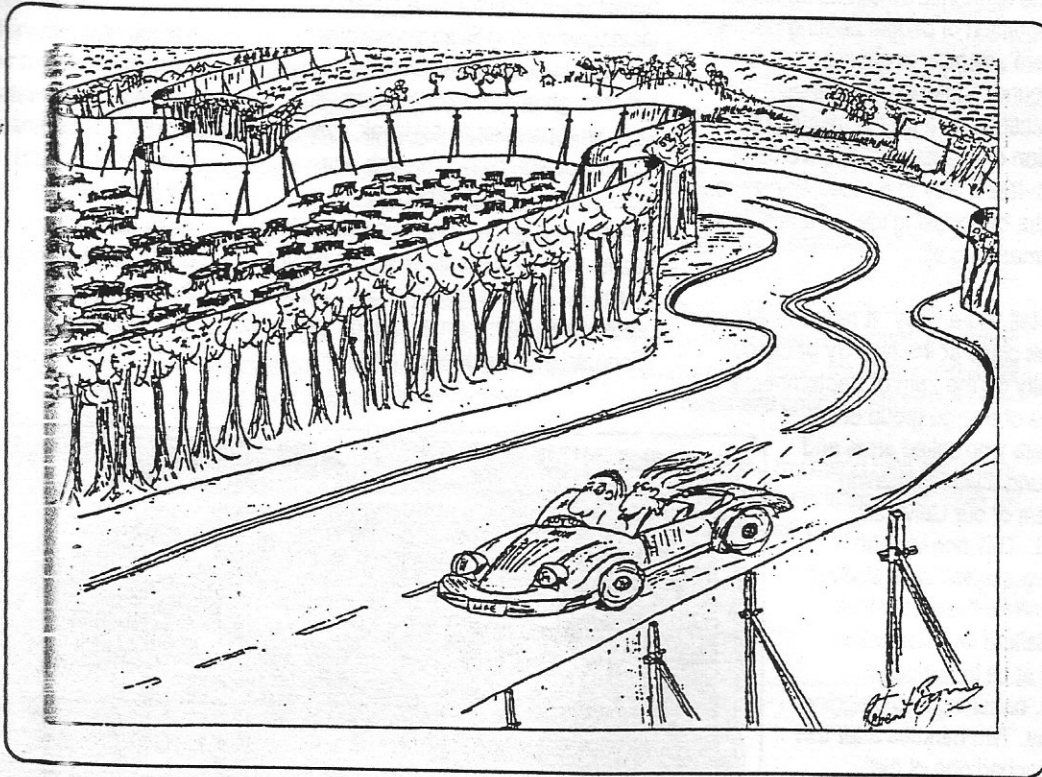
Any group that builds nationalist illusions cannot be supported. The left needs to fight nationalism for what it is, a dangerous anti-working class view of the world.

Historically, nationalism has been a reactionary ideology, causing defeat after defeat in the struggle against capitalism. World War One was a capitalist war in

its exploitation of people and environment in Canada and Tasmania. Workers in these countries need to know that they are facing capitalism not "foreigners".

Under capitalism workers have NO COUNTRY. Aotearoa is not "our" country, it is owned by capitalists, local and off-shore. They are all our enemies.

The internationalist strategy is clear. Rather than "opposing foreign control": we need to oppose capitalist control. We need to unite with the workers and oppressed of all countries. We must support their struggles internationally, like mobilising against the Gulf war to defend the Iraqi people from imperialism. Our unions must unite with other unions



which the working class had no side, yet large sections of the socialist movement betrayed internationalism by calling for the defence of their own "Fatherland", sending millions of workers to die fighting each other.

We must not think in terms of "national" versus "foreign" capitalists, not of "our" or "their" country. To do this hides the real enemy, the system which is exploiting and destroying the world... capitalism! It is an illusion to think that capitalism can be anything but an international system of oppression. We must fight capitalism everywhere - including NZ multinationals, like the NZ Dairy Board and its disgusting practices in Chile; Fletcher Challenge and

against capitalist countries.

The capitalist class recognises its own interests and unites to defend itself - socialists need to recognise that we side with the international working class, not "New Zealanders" but the exploited of the world. Exploitation is international - so is the struggle against it!

**Marinus La Rooij,
Victoria University Bol-
shevik Club.**

International News: Bangladesh Unions make agreement with Government

After a series of 24 and 48 hour strikes since late 1992, the Bangladesh Govt. has finally made an agreement with Bangladesh Unions. The agreement includes release of jailed workers from pervious strikes and protests, a minimum weekly wage for workers in the public sector, the establishment of wage boards for workers in the private sector, an agreement to stop rampant privatisation and mandatory consultation with the Trade Union where privatisation is proposed. This agreement was made in the face of the multi-federation SKOP call for a further 48 hour strike for 19 and 20 July which therefore did not proceed.

Opposition Leaders Murdered in Nepal

On 16 May, 2 key opposition party leaders, Madan Bhandari and Jiv Raj Ashrit were killed in a mysterious motor accident in Nepal. Madan Bhandari was the General Secretary and Jiv Raj Ashrit chief of the party organisation of the Communist Party of Nepal (UML). Both were members of Parliament for the party, which is the main opposition party in Nepal. A few days later the Govt. formed a 1 person investigation commission into the deaths, initial findings of the commission pointed to suspicious circumstances surrounding the deaths, however the final report on 17 June simply gave driver negligence as the cause of the accident. This finding enraged the Nepali people. On 18 June many groups including the General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions

rejected the report and called for nationwide strikes and demonstrations to demand an independent inquiry. Immediately the police attacked the peaceful demonstrations which lead to a further series of strikes and demonstrations during June and July to demand the resignation of Prime Minister G.P. Koirala. The death toll reached 30, a further 68 sustained police gun fire injuries and about 5,000 have been arrested. Only the devastating rains and floods of late July where more than 2000 died in southern Nepal caused the suspension of strikes as the opposition parties called for the mass mobilisation for relief activities. However even in this situation the police continued to make arrests of opposition activists. Party and Human Rights groups continue to push for an independent inquiry and believe that there is a political conspiracy on the part of the Govt. and outside forces. Please protest to the Nepali Govt. by writing to the Prime Minister, G.P. Koirala, Office of the Prime Minister, Singh Durbar, Kathmandu, Nepal. Fax 977-1-227 286.

Pakistan Denies Vote to Bonded Labourers and Nomads.

The Bonded Labour Liberation Front of Pakistan has received a letter from the Election Commission of Pakistan stating that Bonded Labourers and Nomads do not qualify to be registered as voters,

"because neither they ordinarily reside in an electoral area nor do they own / posses a dwelling house or immovable property in that area". BLLFP estimates that there are some 20 million people living under bondage in Pakistan, 8 million of whom are children. This means that some 12 million adults are currently being denied their right to vote in Pakistan. This makes a mockery of the law abolishing the bonded labour system that was passed on 17 March 1993.

Please express your concern about this to the President, Prime Minister, Chief Justice and Chief Election Commissioner, Islamabad, Pakistan. You can contact the Bonded Labour Liberation Front of Pakistan at Room 1, Dyal Sing Mansion, The Mall, Lahore, Pakistan. (Fax 92-42-232494).

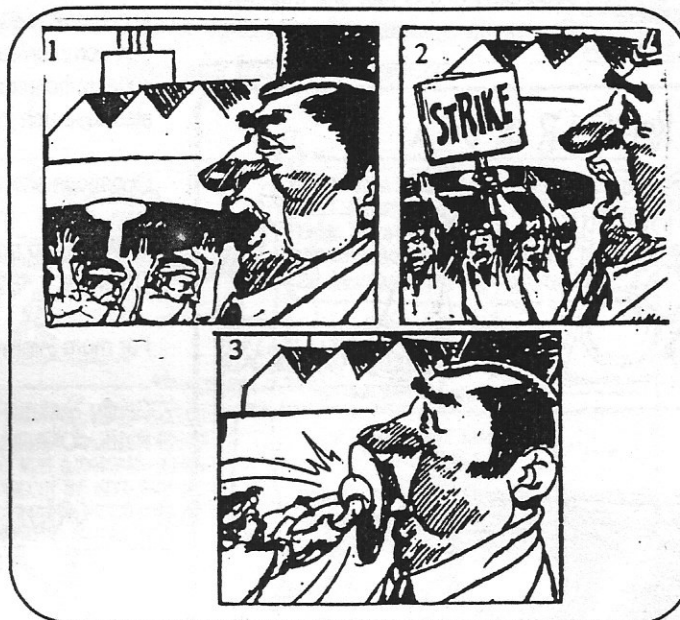
Thai Women Unionists Sued

Union Leaders at Thai Durable Textile are being sued for strike actions by Workers in July. When the company laid off 376 workers (out of 3000), 8,000 workers staged a 5 day strike and sit in outside the Govt. House. The Govt. was forced to order the reinstatement of all workers and to set up a committee, which includes Union rep.s, which all further retrenchments have to be referred to.

Thai Durable Textile Co. is taking the leaders of the workers action to court, to "recover" "lost" earnings of US\$4.16 million.

Meanwhile, 10 Women aged between 14 and 21 were burnt to death in another factory fire in Bangkok. As in the Kader Factory fire, workers were unable to escape because of locked doors.

*Source: Worker
Link, Newsletter
of the Asia
Pacific Workers
Solidarity Links
(PO Box 11123
Wellington).*



Rigoberta Menchu

Last week (early September) New Zealand was host to an international campaigner for human rights, Rigoberta Menchu. Rigoberta was a guest of Oxfam New Zealand and was visiting in her role as a UN goodwill ambassador for the year of indigenous Peoples. Last year she was awarded the Nobel peace prize for her outstanding human rights work in Guatemala.

Since 1954 Guatemala has been host to over 100,000 political killings and disappearances. It is a small Central American country with a population of 7 million. The country has been in civil war and internal dissent. This is not surprising when you consider that 2% of the population own 70% of the land. The average yearly salary is \$85. Most rural peasant workers are little more than slaves to the rich land owners.

Guatemala is home to 23 groups of indigenous peoples. The overwhelming majority of peasant workers are indigenous people of Guatemala. Rigoberta Menchu is a Quiche Indian. Her community is the largest indigenous group in the country.

Within Guatemala Rigoberta spent 14 years fighting for land reform and civil rights. She organised a 2 week peasant strike then led a peaceful campaign for land reform. This campaign was crushed with tanks and guns. Rigoberta was also instrumental in setting up the agricultural workers union or Committee for Campesino Unity which sought to increase

the daily wage for sugar and cotton workers for \$1.12 to \$3.20 a day.

One of her brothers died from poisoning as a result of pesticides which were sprayed while workers were still toiling in the fields. Another of her brothers died through malnutrition. The family was sacked from their employment for taking the day off to bury him.

Rigoberta Menchu said "From that moment, I was both angry with life and afraid of it, because I told myself: 'This is the life I will lead, too; having many children, and having them die.'"

In 1979 another brother was tortured for 16 days and eventually died after being burnt alive in front of her local community. Soon after this her mother was kidnapped, raped, tortured and left outside to die, her body being eaten by dogs, buzzards and other animals.

Today, Rigoberta lives in exile in Mexico. Shortly before she left Guatemala she led a march of 100,000 through the capital city to try to force the Government to start negotiating with the largely Indian peasant population.

In 1986 Rigoberta returned to her homeland only to be arrested by Government agencies. Her freedom was successfully secured, due in part to her increasing international reputation.

In January of this year she was back in Guatemala as escort to thousands of

refugees returning home from United Nations camps in Mexico. Her international standing was reported then as providing security to the repatriation process. Recently she has been active in the development of a United Nations Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.

This is part of a transcript of the Amnesty International Access Radio Broadcast on Women's Suffrage Day in Wellington.

Lyndsay McAteer

ACTION ALERT

Occupation of Tieke Hut and surrounding land by Te Whaanau o Tieke

Tieke (267 acres) is situated by the Whanganui River, nearly 20 miles upstream from Piririki. The land and hut are part of the Whanganui River National Park, currently controlled by the Dept. of Conservation, but under claim to the Waitangi Tribunal as part of the enormous Waimarino Claim (involves over 400,000 acres).

Incensed by desecration of the old Urua that has occurred over the years and DOC's plans to introduce additional user charges to fund improvements which would make the claim less likely to succeed, the locals took over the site on the 15th of September.

Since then a steady occupation has been kept up, with numbers ranging for 25 to 100. Access is by jet boat and canoe only. Normal use of the river has continued and all groups calling at Tieke have reported a warm reception and enlightening experience.

Funds are needed for fuel and supplies so that communications can be kept open, and suitable hospitality extended to visitors. (And also research into the claim and legal fees)

Donations should be sent to:

Te Whaanau o Tieke, 4 Conway St., Ohakune.

For more information, phone

Baldie Haitana (06) 385-4598
Patrick O'Sullivan (06) 385-8258

Alert prepared by Ngaa Kaiwhakanekeneke.



Coming Events:

October 29 - Nurses March in Wellington. Meet 12 noon in Civic Square and march to Parliament. Contact Trish Mullins at the Nurses Organisation, ph. 3850-847.

November 3 - Protest against Fees. Canterbury University Registry. Contact the Education Action Group at the Students Association.

November 13 - Wellsford / Warkworth Peoples' Assembly. Contact Sue or Caroline on (09) 302-2496 or write to BOOF project, PO Box 3813, Auckland 1.

From November 15 - week of education and action on GATT. Write to GATT Watchdog Group, PO Box 1905, Otatua / Christchurch.

November 22 - AGM of the Auckland Unemployed Workers Rights Centre. 2 pm at 33 Wyndham St.

Last weekend of November - National Bisexual Conference. Write to C/- Lynsey McAteer, 53 Rugby St., Wellington.

26 - 29 November - Second Annual National Conference of the Wellington Anarcha-Feminist group. Write to C.E.C., PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington.

December 4, 9 am to 1 pm. The Peoples Centre Xmas Garage Sale. 12 Prime Rd, Grey Lynn, Auckland. Support the Peoples Centre!

December 16. Special General Meeting of the Auckland Peoples Centre. 7 pm, 33 Wyndham St.

January 28 - 30. Protest at Waihopai Spy Base. Contact Anti-Bases Campaign, Box 2258 Christchurch (General Camp) or 454 Hagley Ave Christchurch (Women's Camp) for information.

(If you want to advertise anything that's going on, please write to us and tell us)

Legal Defence Appeals!

Dunedin:

Six people are still facing charges from the Registry

Protest on September 28, when Police attacked peaceful student protesters. Money is needed for court costs and fines. Send donations to the Otago University Students Association (Legal Fund), C/- PO Box 56, Dunedin.

Auckland:

The Auckland Unemployed Workers Rights Centre was illegally invaded by Police in April 1992. This resulted in several injuries and arrests. The AUWRC is now taking a claim against the Police for damages and needs money to support the campaign. Help put the Police in their place!

All money gratefully recieved!

Aotearoa Youth Network Local Contacts:

Auckland -
Victoria St. John.
Phone 520-2282.

Hamilton -
Dale Frew. Phone
824-4480.

Palmerston
North -
Steve Collett.
Phone 359-1836.

Wellington -
Alistair Shaw.
Phone 471-1862.

Dunedin -
Cybele Locke.
Phone 473-0684.



Unemployment
Health Charges
1990 Election lies
Employment Contracts Act
Benefits below breadline
Housing Corp rises
Education Fees
Youth Suicide
Violence
Crime
ACC



**Don't vote
National**

"Poverty is the worst form of Violence" - Ghandi.

Aotearoa Youth Movement

Aotearoa Youth Network
111 Moray Place
Dunedin

~~Daniel Jolly~~
~~3 Duke St.~~
Dunedin,
Aotearoa

COVSO